Leaders in the Political Fight 76r New York



THE FACE OF

MANNERS OF

many political secrets.

A PIRATE-THE

A GENTLE WOMAN

Brooklyn Rapid Transit company. Mr.

Williams was a young newspaper man

on a struggling journal which was opposing Hill politically. He went to in-terview Hill one day. Hill told him

"This is all between us," said Hill. "Don't use any of it. Just say this for

Mr. Williams respected Hill's con-fidence, and in a short time he was of-

fered the position of private secretary to the Governor. He was continued in that capacity by Governor Flower, and

when Flower retired, his influence and that of Hill put him in a position to make his fortune in the metropolis.

Hill is a great phrase-maker. His declaration in the campaign of 1888, "I am a Democrat," has clung to him,

and the cartoonists still draw him with

In the National convention of 1896,

in 1888, when he carried the State for Governor and Cleveland lost it for President. Cleveland always thought

that Hill had sold the State out. Hill denied this.
"The cutting was all on the other

side," he said. "It was Republican re-bellion against Warner Miller (the Re-publican candidate for Governor), not

Democratic desertion of Grover Cleve-

Mr. Hill always insists being consuited in political deals on arrange-ments to which he is even a remote

Mr. Hill's political methods resemble those of a master of chess. He seems to be able to foresee the most remote

consequences of every move upon the board, and this has a tendency some-times to make him hesitate long before

committing himself. He is best satis fied if he can create a situation that will leave several courses open to him. He

has scores of irons in the fire. Many of them he is never able to use, but he is patient, and when his time comes his opponent is likely to be surprised by one

unexpected development that it is im-possible to mest, or some sudden reve-lation that cannot be answered.

aide." he said.

"I am a Democrat" feather in his

State of New York is the chief tleground of the National 1,500,000 in a probable tohirty-nine electoral votes in f 476. It is the home of both lidates for the Presidency. It Prover Cleveland in 1884 and evenly is it balanced between great parties that a change three votes in each of its 4500 districts is usually sufficient to scale. It is made up of widely lements of voting population, from the bankers and brokers street and the rulers of great

both National campaigns have e and confidence to their party but the entire country. ain B. Odell, Jr., Governor of

and chairman of the Republite Republican side in the fight ed by a group of Democratic a certain portion of the State. William F. Shechan, David B. rles F. Murphy and Patrick H. n. Mr. Hill is familiar with tall of the Democratic organi-utside the boundaries of Great-York; Mr. Murphy is absolute of Tammany Hall, and Mr. Mc-is the Democratic leader in the Kings, which is territorially with the Berough of Brooklyn York City. Mr. Sheehan is in a general way with all parts tate, and, as chairman of the National Executive comand, as chairman of the holds a roying commission

Odell is one of the most ful campaign managers that te has ever seen. His political began at the bottom when he ing ice from one of his father's in Newburgh, and was known to every Republican voter in

Odell can control his feelan absolutely from hand. He known to receive some of the rific blows with an expression-

a friend who asked him how he y father once picked up a by the nape of the neck and aloft. The dog did not Then he picked up a cur and lowled. That, my boy, said , is the difference between a

roughbred.' I have never on the last day of the convench met at Saratoga to nominate ticket to run with McKinley's, odell for Governor. Frank S. Troy was there with a few behind him, but no one paid ention to his candidacy. The on areembled for the afternoon which was to name the ticket, tious State Heutemants of Sen-C. Platt. who was still the C. Platt. who was still the State leader, met at the Wor-te to decide on the ticket. They sent to the number of about Word was brought to the con-that by an overwhelming vote or leaders had recommended candidate, and Odell was are candinate, and God go to ave the convention and go to stage in the grounds of the states hotel to await a comnotification.

inor leaders trooped in with that Odell was to be the man.

I a surprising rumor entered ention hall. Senator Platt had changed his plan, and had deat the candidate for Governor be Frank S. Black. It was inbut nevertheless it was true, either minor leaders had gone, Payn and Jacob Worth, two

lay in convincing the party that there was a chance of success. He raised \$20,000, which he bet even that Roosevelt would be elected, and the future President miles the convention of the conve esident pulled through with about 17,000 plurality. In that campaign Richard Croker lost \$50,000, John F. Carroll, \$35,000; Edward Murphy Jr., \$30,000, and Patrick H. McCurran, \$15.

Mr. Odell's personal courage never showed to better advantage than dur-ing the last great maneuver in Re-publican State politics which made him leader. When the convention in 1992 had been on the eve of nominating him had been on the eve of nominating him for Governor a second time, it was ap-parent that George R. Sheldon would be named for Lieutenant Governor. President Roosevelt was stirring up the country about trusts. Mr. Sheldon had just been widely published as a pro-moter of trusts. Failing to induce Sen-lett to door Sheldon, the Govator Platt to drop Sheldon, the Gov-ernor ordered a special train from Al-bany at one o'clock in the morning, and went to Saratoga, where he had an all-night session with Senator Platt and carried his point.

This incident made the Governor many bitter enemies. In this emer-gency the Governor went to Washington and asked for a meeting between the President, Senator Platt and Col. George W. Dunn, who was Mr. Platt's chairman of the State committee Governor at this meeting declared that he intended to be consulted, and it was agreed that he should be the active man in the organization, while Senator Platt should be titular leader, and be consulted on all important matters.

The Governor's chief characteristic as a campaign manager is reticence. No man is more tenacious than he of he purposes that he may have in view but no man is less given to talking about them. He is not a believer in what is popularly known as a "hurrah campaign." He places his confidence in hard work that leaves nothing to chance. It often happens that not even his closest associates know what he in hard work that leaves nothing to chance. It often happens that not even his closest associates know what he has in mind until his plans have been accomplished. He is exacting in his demands upon the party workers. He regards it as their duty to take orders and execute them without asking why. He is a thorough believer in the power of the "machine." If a man holds an office from his party, the Governor insists that he show his usefulness to the party in a practical way. He believes in keeping in touch with every lieves in keeping in touch with every Republican worker, down to the election district captain, and in making each man feel that he is directly responsible for the result in his district to the chairman of the State committee. The Governor's campaign methods are simple and effective. He first ascertains how many votes the Polymer.

ascertains how many votes the Rebup-lican party must poll in order to win. The character of the campaign, whether National, State or local, determines the probable number total vote, and it is easy to ascertain how many votes will be required to constitute a majority. The Republicans this year will have to poll about 800,000 votes to be entirely

experience before, he is likely to go home shaking his head and wondering how "Ben" hapened to know so much about his territory.

When the work has been cut out for his Heutenants, the Governor devotes himself to seeing that it is done. In different parts of the State he has canvasses made to test the drift of sentiment. These tests are made in represult he is able to form an accurate idea of what the voters are thinking. If the Republican vote is not holding up to expectation in any locality, effort is redoubled there. Meetings are ar-ranged and good speakers are sent to arouse enthusiasm. Quarrels in the party are reconciled at whatever cost, Campaign literature is distributed, and whatever money is needed for legitimate

campaign work is provided.

The Governor is first a business man and his campaigns are run strictly on business lines. The organization is made to "tell," just as the organization of a great business enterprise is made to contribute to its success. He is intolerant of incompetents, and he will have no shirks among his subordinates. The man who has to make excuses soon finds himself unwelcome at State head-

## David B. Hill.

David B. Hill's political education, like that of the Governor, began at the election district polling booth. As a election district polling booth. As a young man, he participated in many a hard-fought contest in Elmira, where rough-and-tumble tactics predomi-nated. Mr. Hill is not given to talking any more than the Republican leader, but there the likeness between them

Mr. Hill is a lawyer by training and temperament. While he knows the value of organization, having studied it in the school of Tilden, who made the school district the basis of Democratic organization in New York State, he also places stress on the value of appeals to the reason of the voters. His campaign

speeches are masterpieces.

Mr. Hill is a bachelor, and has been called a woman-hater. There are about his fireside no romance, no wife, no children no domesticity—only politics and law, but chiefly politics. Yet Mr. Hill has his human and softer side. He adopted and educated a nephew, of whom he was very proud. His nephew died at an early age, and his foster father felt deeply about it. For days after the death he denied himself to all his friends. Mr. Hill also has a great fondness for

young men. He has educated several young men. He has educated several.
One of them is a prosperous physician
in Washington, Dr. Pierce, who married
the daughter of the Rev. Dr. Battershall of Albany. Over the country are
scattered half a dozen other young men
who owe their start in life to the former Governor. They are his devoted
admirers.

One of these is Timothy E. Williams, now one of the leading officials of the Tammany ever had. He won his leadership by hard work. He was for many years the leader of the Eighteenth assembly district, and of this district the Rev. Dr. W. S. Rainsford once said, "If all the Tammany district was not as a committee would not have believed me had. I movely said that Sanata Hill. ford once said, "If all the Tammany districts were conducted as Murphy's is this would be a model town,"

One of the most interesting things about Mr. Murphy is the affection which exists between him and Mayor George B. McCiellan. When Mr. McClellan went to New York to make his living, he met Charles F. Murphy, who was then a minor district leader by was then a minor district leader in Tammany. The two men linked their fortunes. Mr. Murphy aided in making Mr. McClellan treasurer of the Brook-lyn Bridge commission. He stood by him when he was candidate for President of the Board of Aldermen. He urged him for Lieutenant-Governor and for Governor. He also repeatedly asked Richard Croker, then leader of lammany, to make him the candidate

Senate one George A. Owens, a bar-keeper, a man of no education or politifor Mayor.

When Mr. Murphy himself became
the leader of Tammany, there was no
question as to who the candidate for That year there was a political revo-lution in the State of New York, and it extended to Brooklyn. When the votes Mayor would be in McCarren's district were counted it was found that the unknown bartender

At the dinner of the Gridiron club last December, in Washington, Murphy and McClellan sat side by side. A red lantern, indicating the "red light dis-trict," which had been a feature of the campaign of 1903, was hung over their heads. After the Mayor had spoken presiding genius of the dinner sald;

presiding genius of the dinner sald:
"Now, we will hear from the real
thing," and called on the Tammany
leader for a speech.
"Gentlemen," said Mr. Murphy, rising
and waving his hand toward the Mayor-elect, "in all seriousness, I inform
you that the real thing in New York

during his great debate with Bryan over the platform, he made a tremendous hit by saying: "I am a Democrat, but not a revolutionist."
Hill was subjected to bitter criticism City affairs sits on my right."

No one believed the Tammany leader at this time. But when Mayor McClellan took his seat in the New York City hall it was soon learned that what Mr. Murphy had said was literally true. For the first time in the municipal history of New York there was a Tomtory of New York there was a Tam-many "boss" who dld not insist that the Tammany Mayor should turn the

town over to the thugs and gamblers.
Every Tammany district leader has
an office somewhere in his district
where the poor and lowly of his balliwhere the poor and lowly of his balli-wick can meet him and make requests. Mr. Murphy's, when he managed a dis-trict, was beneath the lamppost at Twentieth street and Second avenue, in front of the Tammany clubhouse. Here he would remain several hours every night, meeting all who had a trouble to unfold, a favor to ask, or a suggestion to make. The secret of Tammany's greatness as a political fac-Tammany's greatness as a political factor has been that it keeps close to the poor of the city. Mr. Murphy has fol-lowed that principle to a greater extent than any other Tammany brave, and no power could shake him in the esti-mation of those who live in his dis-

## Patrick H. McCarren.

Charles F. Murphy. Patrick H. McCarren was a cooper at Mr. Murphy, the leader of Tammany Hall, and Mr. McCarren, the leader of the Brooklyn Democracy, have become 19. He is now absolute boss of the great borough of Brooklyn. He is called "Long Pat." He has the face of a pirate, so his friends are fond of saying, and the manners of a gentlewoman. He was never known to lose his temper. national figures on account of the great feud which has been in progress be-Mr. Murphy is the youngest leader | The nearest on record was once at a

William F. Sheehan. William F. Sheehan, who is gener-

MR. SHEEHAN HOLDS

COMMISSION

A ROVING

ally given credit of having done more to promote the nomination of Judge Parker than any other one man, is an

also believes in extreme liberality in excise and gambling matters. It is on this question that he and Murphy split.

Parker than any other one man, is an anomaly in politics.

He was a Buffalo boy, and was a protege of David B. Hill. He came forward about twenty years ago as an Assemblyman, and soon was the leader of his faction in that end of the State. He believed in machine politics pure and simple. After ten years of stress and storm in Albany and Buffalo he deemed it wise to move to New York.

In ten years Mr. Sheehan, by close at-

In ten years Mr. Sheehan, by close at-tention to the practice of law, has amassed a fortune and won the entire respect of the business community of New York City. He began life as a ferry boy on the

Buffalo river. He stands today as the maker of a Democratic candidate, and as the manager in the entire country of that candidate's canvass. At the St. Louis convention Mr. Shee-

han attracted great attention to him-self by the manner in which he handled the interests of Judge Parker. Few persons were certain that the Judge could be nominated at all, in view of Tammany Hall, which, although under had I merely said that Senator Hill instructions to vote for the candidate of New York, was openly intriguing with was openly intriguing all the other Democratic aspirants for

ne nomination. Mr. Sheehan was asked on what ballot he thought Judge Parker would be

We have not yet decided the ballot," replied Mr. Shechan. "He will be nominated on the first, if we think it wise. If not, he will be nominated on the second. It all depends on how things look when

(Copyright, 1904, by T. C. McClure.) COALVILLE EXCURSION

Via Oregon Short Line.

September 16th. Round trip only \$1.50. Leave Salt Lake 8:00 a. m., returning to Salt Lake about 8:10 p. m. Opening of Weber Reservoir Power and Irriga-tion plant. This is a beautiful ride through Weber Canyon, past the

Devil's Slide, Devil's Gate and Pulpit

UNDER CO-OPERATIVE PLAN OF

Western Loan Savings Co.

ESTABLISHED 1892

Senator McCarren has been

rough and tumble of city politics for thirty years, and he has been in the

State Senate for more than half of that

state Senate for more than half of that time. The only term he missed was in 1894-5, and connected with his tempo-rary retirement then is one of the best stories in American city politics. The Democrats and Republicans of McCarren's distrigt worked together.

It was decided that in the campaign of 1893 there should only be a feint of oppo-

sition to McCarren, so he could pull through without the expenditure of much money. So McCarren picked as the candidate to run against him for the

had been elected by 800 majority.

McCarren is an "all-round sport" He Devil for years was interested in racing. He Rock.

cal experience.

UNDER SUPERVISION STATE BANK EXAMINER.

Call or Write. 49 East First South Street. Postoffice Box 1175.

P. W. MADSEN,

President.

A. H. ADKISON, Cashier.